Filipino had written, "... a good customer is offered free rides...by the Chinese."[57] This is also true in Siaton. Often a Chinese merchant is forced to overload his truck with people wanting free rides; otherwise, as one Chinese merchant of Siaton told me, he might find his tires slashed the next day by a disgruntled would-be-rider. No Siaton resident owned an automobile in 1951, although before the last war several of the more affluent merchants had private cars.

The Philippine bus, called "trucks" by the people in Siaton, does a herculean job in the Republic.

> With the few private automobiles, for the use of only a very small share of the population, the bus has become far more important than in many countries. Generally speaking, Philippine bus-transport economy compares with that of almost any place in the world. Likewise it compares in services to its customers. Except for a few of the long-run 'limited' schedules, a bus will stop anywhere to pick up or discharge passengers. Most lines will carry any small cargo on the ticket, often include freight in small consignments on their regular runs, and operate fairly fast schedules. Most busses are regular truck-rolling stock, with Philippine-built bodies adapted to people of smaller girth and stature than most Americans.[58]

Though normally the busses are overcrowded, dusty, and maintained with makeshift repairs, without them the mobility of the average Filipino would be greatly reduced. The overwhelming dependence of the average Filipino in southern Negros in 1952 on the public transport system is shown in

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[57] "The Chinese Question." A series of letters from various readers in the Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 29 (July 26, 1952), p.3. Underlining by writer.

[58] Spencer, op. cit., p.80.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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is the more accurate; the writer is inclined to accept the more detailed estimate of Buzeta and Bravo. Even the larger population estimate would have meant that in 1850 Negros had a population density of only twelve persons per square mile. By 1850 six Recollect fathers and eleven curas insulares (Filipino lay assistants) lived in Negros.

CB 175* 731

In 1851 Basilio Kirit, nicknamed Bacoro, was elected capitan and some roads were built in the poblacion. In 1861 a severe cholera epidemic hit Siaton and killed many of the inhabitants. Marco gives a vivid account of this epidemic that swept Negros.[54] It appears to have been introduced to Negros from Panay and later spread throughout the archipelago.[55]

The Non-Christians of Siaton

CB 563 •

BP 131 161 142 437 484

During the Spanish period there were an estimated 300 Negritos (or Atas) living in the mountains near Siaton. The last Negrito group to visit the poblacion was in the 1930's who told the people originally they had come from Panay (Antique province). Informants in Siaton are still living who remember the Negritos and reported that "they were not very black but we could tell they were Atas by their hair." The Negritos came to the lowlands to barter medicinal roots, honey, rattan, and similar items, for rice corn and clothing.

[54]Marco, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

[55]Frederic H. Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines. London, Marston S. Low, 1900, p. 398.

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items, for rice, corn, and clothing. One old woman, still living in Naga, said the Negritos she knew when young were very clever.

> They would barter salay bark [(Zanthoxylum integrifoliolum (Merr.) Merr.)] for kolinos bark or ungali [(Uraria rufa Blume)] roots for pauli roots [(Cleidion spiciflorum (Blum. F.) Merr.)] if you did not watch them closely. CB 563 BP 101

The non-Negrito pagan groups living in the mountains of southern Negros are known by a variety of names, Loog ("People who do not associate with civilized people"), Montese and Bukidnon ("Hill or mountain people"), and Ambak. I never saw any of these pagan Filipinos in southern Negros, although they do come to the lowlands to trade in Tolong. During the Spanish period these primitive people were said to have bushy hair, wore abaca headbands, and G-strings. Never without a bolo, they decorated their spears with horsehair, and used bows and arrows. BP [142] [291] [411]

Probably this is the group Beyer cites as living in the Tablas plateau; they appear to be an Indonesian type with some Negrito mixture. In pre-Hispanic days the Indonesians from the south sailed "through the Visayas and the Batanes to Taiwan to trade gold, pearls, and livestock. They went through the Visayan seas to Cebu--then the capital of these isles."[56] Intermarriage CB 563 BP 101 144

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[56] Ahmed Ibn Parfahn, "Are the Filipinos Indonesians?" The Philippine Herald, Manila, (July 12, 1952), p. 4.

between the Negritos and lowland Filipinos had occurred in the pre-Spanish period. When the Spaniards reached western Negros (Bago, Himamaylan, Binalbagan, etc.) many people were living there who had intermarried with Negritos.[57] Some of these people may have moved south into the Tablas plateau.[58]

The Bukidnons, as they are most commonly called today, practiced sandugo or blood brothership.[59] This custom was still in force in the 1920's among Bukidnon living in the mountains above Barrio Manalong-on, Sta. Catalina. A Naga informant who had lived among them while stripping abaca reported:

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[57]Marco, op. cit., p. 23.

[58]In 1952 the first preliminary survey of these people living in the vicinity of the Tablas plateau was made by Professor Timoteo Oracion. He studied a group of about 200 Magahats, as they are locally known, in Tolong municipality. "An Introduction to the Culture of the Magahats of the Upper Tayabanan River Valley, Tolong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, January, 1952. Typescript.

[59]Sandugo, a pre-Spanish custom, is described by Chirino in the first part of the 17th century. "Those who made peace in the name of the rest, and established the pact of perpetual friendship, pricked and wounded their own arms; the Indians sucking the blood of the Spaniard, and the Spaniard that of the Indian. In this wise they became as if of the same blood, and were closer than brothers. These are called sandugo, which means 'consanguineous', or 'of the same blood.'" Pedro Chirino, "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas," ("Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of what has there been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus"), Rome, 1604. Translated in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XII, pp. 185-6.

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Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

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During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

CB [86]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; G. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

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[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [10]

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For the barriofolk of Caticugan and the residents of Siaton poblacion today the Negritos and Bukidnons are people who are seldom discussed and rarely seen.

Siaton's first Chinese settled in the poblacion during the Spanish period, two unrelated bachelors who had been born in Amoy. Opening stores in the poblacion, they soon married local girls. By 1932 there were reported to be six "full-blooded" Chinese storekeepers in the poblacion while in 1953 there were only four Chinese merchants. Two of these Chinese were mestizos and the other two were born in Canton.

In 1951, under the Alien Registration Act, 850 Chinese living in Negros Oriental registered at Dumaguete. This figure did not include Chinese mestizos or Chinese who are naturalized citizens of the Republic. Of the 850 Chinese who registered, less than 10 per cent were Cantonese, the rest emigrants from southern Fukien. Cheng writes: "In the case of Dumaguete, most of the Fukienese came from the island of Amoy in the southern part of the province, with a smaller number coming from neighboring villages and hsiens [towns or administrative districts] of Lungki and Tsinkiang in sharp contrast with Manila where the reverse is true."[62] At present the

[62] Thomas S. Cheng, "A Cultural Study of the Chinese Community," Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, March 26, 1951, p. 3. Unpublished student report; typescript. Cheng calls Lungki by its former name, Changchow, and refers to Chuanchow now better known as Tsinkiang. Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, G. & C. Merriam Company, 1949, pp. 641 and 1163.

largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars~~) ~~with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

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[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

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[847]

One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

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Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

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The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66] Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Padugo" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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occurred in Negros until 1873.[72] To this day, however, fear of the Moros exists among the people of the area; many of them believe that the only "good Moro is a dead one."

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The Growth of the Population of Negros: 1877

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The development of the sugar industry in Negros had two results. First, it became more important to establish law and order in the island for protection of the mills and growing wealth of the hacenderos. The Spanish officials in Manila began to take more interest in Negros and an attempt was made to stamp out outlaws. It was mainly the hacenderos who wished the protection of the American flag during the Philippine revolution, not because they were unsympathetic to the revolt against the United States but because they wished to protect their investments.

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Second, the development of the sugar-producing areas in Bais, San Carlos, and northern and western Negros made a larger labor force necessary. These workers were obtained, for the most part, from Panay, Cebu and Bohol. Echauz gives an interesting account of the recruiting of workers for the haciendas.[73] He writes of employers sending thirty or forty thousand pesos (one peso = fifty cents, U.S.A.) to Panay to requisition laborers.

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[72] Galang and Osias, op. cit., p. 405.

[73] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 83-5.

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wise because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected.

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

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The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Cadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall."

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Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the

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87"Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

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Spaniard might slap or kick him. An old informant who carried mail during the last part of the 19th century said he always avoided the Spaniards. If he saw one coming he would ride his horse in the opposite direction to avoid giving a sign of respect.

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It was the custom of Spaniards not to permit Filipinos to wear their shirt-tails inside their pants. The Barong Tagalog, the national male costume of Filipinos, a finely-woven and embroidered shirt, is, Guerrero writes, "nothing but a shirt worn with its tails out." He continues by stating: "This seems to have been decried by the Spaniards to make it possible to tell at first glance who was a Spaniard, with the right to wear his shirt-tails properly tucked in, and who was an inferior 'indio.'"[88]

CB 563 175* 681.

One informant said when he was an altar boy for the priest he broke wind during mass. After the service the priest gave him a lashing for this unintentional act. Another informant told how the priest during mass would cry to the people who failed to kneel: "Oy, mga, carabao, lohod kamo!" (Oh, my carabaos, kneel!). If one was discovered possessing a Bible the book was confiscated and burned. Many of the people still believe today, as more did in the past, that to own a Bible may cause insanity.

[828, CB 563 175*

On the whole, the Spaniards regarded the Filipinos as children, to be civilized, according to Spanish concepts, and Christianized.

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[88] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "What Are Filipinos Like?", The Philippine Quarterly, I, No. 3 (December, 1951), pp. 5-6.

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> The legal status of the Indians [Filipinos] before the law was that of minors, and no provision was made [by the Spaniards] for their arriving at their majority. The clergy looked upon these wards of the State as school-children of the church, and compelled the observance of her ordinances even with the rod.[89]

While the Spanish administration of the Philippines often tolerated cunning exploitation of the Filipinos and overbearing arrogance on the part of many officials, it also legislated more systematically and benevolently to protect the "Indios" than did any other contemporary colonizing power.

There are still Filipinos who remember Spanish officials with kindness. Gadiane writes about Baldomores Torres, the commandant of the Guardia Civil in Siaton, for whom he worked as a clerk.

> He showed me a letter from Capitan-General Valeriano Weyler telling him to go to Dapitan [Mindanao] and from Dapitan to Manila. Capitan-General Weyler and the commandant were called back to Spain, maybe to go to Cuba where the people were revolting against Spain. He told me if he were not here for me to go to the new commandant's office once in awhile if he needed me. He told me further that you will know when I leave [the Philippines] because I shall just let Apolonario, my servant, write you. I asked him if his servant would go with him to Spain. He said if he likes. He left me a cane full of money with his name on it, Baldomero Torres.

A younger Filipino described the relationship of his group to one of the priests, Miguel Navarro:

> I would go to the church when the priest was my friend. In fact, one priest, Miguel Navarro, gave us money to buy a lechon pig because we had decorated the church for Flores de Mayo. We use to go to the convento to eat the priest's candy, fruit

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[89] Bourne, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

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and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

175* 668 579

Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

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[90]The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at the Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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of many prominent Filipino leaders. This incident led to the famous "Cry of Balinatawak" when Bonifacio tore up his cédula receipt as a symbol of defiance to the Spanish government. The first real battle between Filipino and Spanish troops occurred at San Juan del Monte (Luzon) August 30, 1896. In September the revolt broke out in Panay and in November in Negros. The commandant of the Siaton Guardia Civil, Torres, was promoted to lieutenant colonel and ordered to go to Lanao, Mindanao. The Spanish lieutenant who replaced Torres was a heavy drinker and two months later was replaced by Lt. Tomas Arnaez, a Spanish officer who had married the daughter of the capitan of Bais. The treatment of the inhabitants in the poblacion by the Guardia Civil improved; Cadiane speculates: "Maybe it was because the wife of Arnaez was a Filipina."

In 1897 a severe earthquake followed by large waves rocked the Siaton area. The poblacion church was destroyed and from giant rents in the earth there issued sand and mud with the odor of gunpowder. It is almost certain that this earthquake mentioned by Cadiane was the great earthquake of September 21, 1897, in the Sea of Jolo. The shores of Zamboanga and Basilan Island were pounded by giant waves that inundated many villages.

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"Extraordinary sea movements were noticed all along the southwestern coast of Negros..."[116]

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This year Lt. Arnaez was transferred to Manila and another Spanish officer, with a family of thirteen children, arrived in Siaton. The children's attitude toward the Filipinos is described by Cadiane.

> The sons [of the lieutenant] could do anything they wished. Many of the people had swollen faces from blows received from these sons. Many would have their bodies badly bruised because one of the sons beat them for refusing to give them what they wanted. The sons were proud and cruel. They got anything from the people without payment...During these times we suffered boxings, beatings with a gun, and had our elbows tied together because we refused to give them things we possessed.

Their father, however, did punish the sons, by confining them in the barracks where the soldiers lived. The new lieutenant also became involved in a feud with the parish priest, the "local tyrant" as Cadiane describes him.

The Philippine Revolution Against the United States

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Various attempts, all unsuccessful, were made by the Spanish to halt the mounting tide of revolution in the Philippines. The United States became involved in both the Cuban and Philippine rebellions; this resulted in the Spanish-American war. Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay May 1, 1898. The same day, probably

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[116] Saderra Masó, S.J., "Volcanoes and Seismic Centers," Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, pp. 217-8. During the same year the volcano Catarman on Camiguin Island became active. Masó writes: "Probably some of the feeble shocks felt at Cebu, Negros and Iloilo were connected...with this volcanic center."

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Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

[787] [53]

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

[174] [563]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175] H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

consumer, it does not effectively stabilize the price the farmer receives for his rice. Farmer organizations or cooperatives are few in number and generally ineffective in helping the barriofolk. Those cooperatives that existed before the last war, for the most part, did not survive; at present there are only a few cooperatives connected with poultry and tobacco production. Cooper writes:

> Thus, most farmers have to depend upon private merchants. By having no control over marketing, the farmer cannot pledge his crop for credit until favorable market conditions prevail so he can obtain for himself the maximum amount for his crops. Instead this profit goes to middlemen.[22]

Aliens, particularly Chinese, control approximately 65 per cent of the marketing of Philippine agricultural products. Chinese control is not always due to business acumen and sharp practices, but often by Filipino default.

The majority of the seventeen registered financial organizations in the Philippines are located in Manila and confine their businesses to that general area. "Virtually all of their business is non-agricultural and is largely concentrated in import and export commerce."[23] Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas:

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[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.